*601 /126 cont./

da-o-sis-o-f	Meokó •	(M)	(V)

• The term Meokó is also used in reference when Ego refers to the da-o-sis-o-f while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-sis-o-f.

da-o-sis-o-f	Yeé Basúko •	(M)	(R)

• Used in reference in general form.

da-o-sis-o-f	Uaméu Majkó	(F)	(V-R)
so-o-br-o-m	Meoké •	(M)	(V)

• The term Meoké is also used in reference when Ego refers to the so-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-so-o-br-o-m.

so-o-br-o-m	Yeé Basúke •	(M)	(R)

• Used in reference in general form.

so-o-br-o-m	Uaméu Majké	(F)	(V-R)
da-o-br-o-m	Meokó •	(M)	(V)

• The term Meokó is also used in reference when Ego refers to da-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-br-o-m.

da-o-br-o-m	Yeé Basúko •	(M)	(R)

• Used in reference in general form.

da-o-br-o-m	Uaméu Majkó	(F)	(V-R)

•[582] [583] Note the identity between the terms for so-o-sis-o-f and so-o-br-o-m. Note the identity between the terms for da-o-sis-o-f and da-o-br-o-m. This is due to the interchange of brother with sister in cross-cousin marriages.

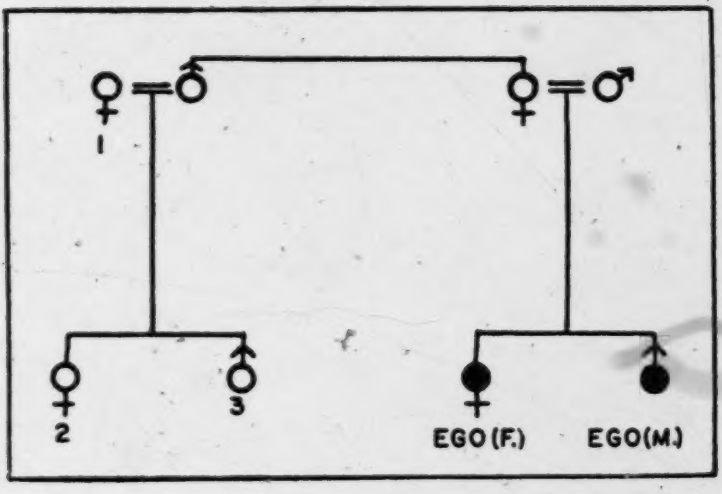
* 601 /126 cont./

[582] [583]

SPECIAL CASES OF so-o-br-o-m AND OF da-o-br-o-m.

In case the interchange of brother with sister is unilateral in cross-cousin marriages, the following happens:

/127/ Note—No. 1 is not sis-o-f of Ego.



so-o-br-o-m	Paég	(M)	(V)
so-o-br-o-m	Yeé Utamúri Majsé	(M)	(R)
so-o-br-o-m	Mejkésa Majké	(F)	(V-R)
da-o-br-o-m	Paó *	(M)	(V-R)

* This term is used in reference solely when Ego refers to the da-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-br-o-m.

*

601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

614

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

•582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
591 tended patrilineal families.
596

* 539
[797]
[595]
[161]
* 539
•582
583

/132 cont./

polygyny. Explanation for the constant diminution of the Tukano population.

And Siópuri Uejké and Ereya will command you. And they will have you as slaves and humiliated ones. I forbid the Tukano to take their woman from their own tribe, but they can get their woman from outside their tribe (53),

53. Obligatory exogamy exists in Tukano culture.

for example, a Yurutí or Tariana or Desana woman." And there were only three tribes from which the Tukano could get women. Yurutí, Tariano /Tariana/, and Desano /Desana/. And they did not fight with these tribes in order to get women, because a brother and sister of one tribe exchanged with a brother and sister of another tribe. And Yepá Huâke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "If you want to get a woman from another tribe that is not Yurutí, Tariano, or Desano, you will have to do it by fighting (54).

54. With any other tribe that is not the Yurutí, the Tairiano /sic/, and the Desano, the form of marriage is by abduction. During the abduction fights take place between the male relatives of the girl who is abducted and the committee of men who have come to get the wife for the bridegroom. This committee is formed by the male relatives of the bridegroom and the bridegroom does not take part in the abduction.

* 539 And the first woman that you will get by fighting will be Tuyuca. Do not kill, just fight and take the woman. The second woman will be Uanana, and do not kill them either, just take the woman.

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in
197 the Mediterranean ports.

It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer.
[178] The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing.
[115] In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya
[126] knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even
178 elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity
[563] of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining
[582] and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

/70 cont./

a. Distinction by the somatic element.

582 563 As was said, the law of exogamy is in effect among all these tribes (except the Makú). The Taryana of Iauareté, for example, obtain for wives the women of the Tukano tribe residing in the neighboring povoado called Umarí, both 563 povoados on the Uaupés River. Vice versa, the Tukano of 144 Umarí take as wives the Taryana women of Iauareté. According to present knowledge about heredity, the paternal genídios /genes/ (1)

1. The new science, Genetics, verified and admits a granular conception of heredity. The germ cell of the human being contains in its nucleus 24 pairs of chromatic points, they are the chromosomes, each of them being made up of smaller parts called gene or genídio (from the Greek root gen, which indicates to generate).

are blended and balanced. One can expect, then, that the physical aspect of the Taryana (of Tukano mother) will not present notably characteristic physical features that would 144 distinguish them from the Tukano (of Taryana mother). This compulsory crossing, which dates from many generations, explains to us the similarity of physiognomic features, which we find today among individuals of different tribes (2).

2. We observed a typical case, among the many, in August of 1956, during an excursion to the stream Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié (near Parí-cachoeira). We found in Piracema, povoado of the Desana tribe on the Umarí, a boy with physiognomic features extraordinarily similar to those of a Desana youth who served us as an oarsman, and from this very povoado. We verified, however, that the boy belonged to the Tukano tribe, of the povoado called

/89/

c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẽMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[144] [301] [304] [171]

• [582] The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I. 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/89 cont./

*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá [317] (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found there. [323] Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent [501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba, [142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Jahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a [161] thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

/91 cont./

*101 f) EMÕÁ-MASÃ OR GUARIBA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Emõá, in the native idiom, is the name of the guariba /howler/ monkey. Their language also belongs to the Tukano family /92/ (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia"). We found /some words, perhaps a line of the text, are missing here in the original source/ [144] Ide-masã of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hidõ of the Comé-ia. This was a type of average stature, slender body, delicate features, not very prominent zygoma, elongated face, high, thin nose, skin lighter than that of the Tukano, fine, black, somewhat [171] wavy hair.

• [582] Tribal exogamy is observed. We know of marriages with Ide-Masã, Hanẽra, and Bará.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They inhabit the forests between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná. They are few nowadays, according to the informant, who could give us barely 3 subdivisions. It is to be noted that, according to the informant, the Yebá and Roéra are part of her tribe. This agrees with some information obtained three years previously from a Yéba, who, among the divisions of his tribe, named [361] the Emõá and the Roéra (cf. IV-2, t). If the Yéba are to be included among the Emõá, these would be, in all, several [171] hundreds of individuals, because the Yéba live in several malocas in the region embraced between the Comé-ia and the Pirá-paraná.

Koch Grũnberg (Z. I. 401) speaks of the greatly feared Guarĩua or Guariba-Tapuya located below the Jurĩ and Passé, that is, in the basin of the river Japurá. The Emõá can not be identified with these Guariua-Tapuya, but rather with the Õmõá of the sources of the Tiquié.

[115] 3) Divisions. Informant, the Indian woman Misirã, about 50 years old (1957), also known as Joaquina, wife of the Ide-masã tuxáua of the Comé-ia:

/94 cont./

*101 The Ide-masã are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

• [582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, Emõa, Yebá, Bãːre, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

[301] [304]

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

[532]

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[161]

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

/96 cont./

*101 They also lost their own idiom, everyone today speaking the Tukano language.

• [582] [142] Koch G. includes the Arapásu as a Tukano division. It seems to us incorrect, because even marriage is allowed between members of these two tribes. Physically the Arapásu are easily distinguished from the Tukano, because they are lighter, taller, and more slender. High nose, sometimes a bit aquiline, less prominent zygoma, and elongated face.

They consider themselves, instead, brothers of the Pirá-tapúya, because of which a matrimonial interdiction is in force between Arapásu and Pirá-tapúya, and also with the Bará, the Desãna, Miritĩ, and Kumãdẽne.

*[192] Their idiom does seem to be affiliated with the Tukano family of languages (32).

32. Their affiliation with the Tukano Family of languages can be verified only by the small number of words that some Arapásu natives were able to tell us:

tapioca, kávetari	father, mái	paternal uncle, mõamõ
fan, misõna	mother, Yõ or ihyõ	paternal aunt, mõamã
chest, kutiró	son, maxkã	maternal uncle, kabõ
people, maxsã	daughter, maxkõ	maternal aunt, kabô, kabú
snake, pinó	younger brother, peñã	maternal fem. cousin, kabô maxkã
fishhook, sináke	younger sister, peñõ	maternal male cousin, kabõ maxkõ
fire, pe'kãme		nephew, peñanã
		niece, peñanõ

go to blow the fire, pe'kãme apusumaré

/102 cont./

* 101 [142] The Oá-mahã are lighter in complexion and more slender than the Tukano. Dark brown or black hair, fine, sometimes wavy. Face more elongated than among the Tukano, also more delicate features and light eyes.

• [582] They likewise observe tribal exogamy, and we know of marriages with the Tuyuka, Bará, and Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It seems that at present all of them live in Colombian territory between the headwaters of the rivers Tiquié and Papurí.

The Pamõã-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) mention the Oá-mahã as a division of their own tribe. We do not know whether it is a matter of the present tribe, as seems more probable by the location, or if it is actually only a division of the Tatú /armadillo/, with this name of Oá (gambá).

3) Divisions -- The informant did not know how to indicate them.

o) PÁBOA-MAXSÃ OR TATÚ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- In their own idiom, which belongs to the Tukano family of languages (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/"), they call themselves Páboa-maxsã, corresponding to the Tukano denomination Pamõã-maxsã or Tatú /armadillo/ people.

[142] /103/ Lighter in complexion than the Tukano, and also taller and more slender. Dark brown hair, ovoid face, light eyes, fine lips, high nose.

[582] We know of matrimonial ties with the Bará and the Karapanã.

[721] [648] [266] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Presently they live in the region embraced between the headwaters of the Áua (one of the sources of the Papurí) and the river Pirá-paraná. About 20 years ago there were encounters and reciprocal massacres between the Tatú-tapuyas and Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/, and even episodes of anthropophagy are remembered, which are explained, it seems, by special hate and reprisals.

/108/

*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a larger number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloisa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloisa, Wárarikõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASÃ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masã, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsã or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithr/nus Taraira, Lin.).

[115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamí, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old

[142] and residing in the Ídemasã maloca of the Komé-ya. They are in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced

[301] [304] and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck through them.

• [582] Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we know of marriages with the Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gó-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõã and Yebá, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe.
[142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation
[284] of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the
[184] Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2, c (2)).

• [582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for
[142] them (48).

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to
[191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced; besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese.
[438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

/112 cont./

*101

4. Bótea Wahyára (aracú /fish/), on the headwaters of the river Paca (extinct today)

/113/

5. Wãkebu poná (ingá), in Tuim-igarapé (tributary of the Uaupés)
6. Yãseá Wahyára (juritĩ /palm/ monkey), on the igarapé Komé-ya (tributary of the Paca) (43)

43. Komé-ya is the name in the Tukano language corresponding to Gi-paraná in the Nheengatú, that is, "Stream of the iron or of the ax." It is not to be confused with Komé-ya, tributary of the river Pirá-paraná, which waters the forests inhabited by the Ide-masã, Roera, Yebá, and other tribes.

7. Usẽniña (cucura /Moraceae/), on the igarapé Komé-ya
8. Dyípo yutáda (pata'pé), on the igarapé Komé-ya
9. Watkó basoka (seringa), on the headwaters of the Paca
10. Dyató panamena (iúa pixuna /fruit/), on the river Paca (above Tapira-cachoeira)
11. Ahuã betóri panamena (earthworm), on the headwaters of the Paca.

v) WAY-KHANA OR PIRÁ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Pirá-tapuya is the língua-geral term corresponding to Way-khana, or "fish people," in the mother tongue (sing., masc. Waĩ-khõ, fem. Waĩ-khõ). Their name is explained by the legend of the origins. Their particular physiognomic features were described (IV - 1, a (2)). Their language belongs to the Tukano group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"), and is very close to that of the Wanana.

• [582]

We have already observed that matrimonial interdiction is in force between the Pirá-tapuya and the Arapasu, Wanana, and Juritĩ.

/117 cont./

*101 [115] [554] Obs. The Desana José Prado, about 30 years old (1956), confirmed the above subdivisions, with the following modifications: 1st. he does not know the 11th subdivision Waxsúpo põná; 2nd. he corrected the names of the 8th, 15th, and he divided up the 24th, respectively, aganĩgãnĩ põna, yai buxtiná, and Poyaxtẽna, "because it planted the igarapé" (so he explained); 3rd. -- The first three are the most noble, he said, and the óiwa are the pariahs.

x) KUMÃDENE OR IPEKA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Ipéka is a Nheengatú term that means water duck. In their own idiom they call themselves Kumãdene, and in the Tukano language, Dya-kaxtá-põrã (children of the water duck). The Taryãna call them Kumãda Yaperíkuli, ducks of Yaperíkuli.

On the Uaupés there is a small group of this tribe of Arwake extraction, whose idiom is affiliated with the Baniva group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary which we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-Musical").

[582] They consider themselves brothers of the Taryãna, and, because of this, marriage is forbidden between these tribes. In the list of the subdivisions of the Taryana /118/ the Kumãda Yaperíkuli appear. The somatic and the glottologic differences, however, demonstrate that it is a tribe distinct from the Taryãna. [142] They are less corpulent, more delicate in constitution, fairer, and have hair less lissotrichous than theirs.

The ones from the Uaupés have already lost their native [115] idiom, all speaking Tukano exclusively. In Urubuara in 1954 we met only two old men who still knew some words of their native language that we could transcribe and record: the sexagenarian tuxáua Mandú Henriques, and the almost nonagenarian Komú (xamã /shaman/) Martinho, who passed away in March of 1956. The ones from the Cuiarí, tributary of the Içana, still preserve their own idiom.

*192 /276 cont./

278 When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as
756 pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting
778 on him, for three months, a Wɨhĩõ applied to the navel, Wɨhỹõ peomɨ kã̃ max-kõ̃-ré. This Wɨhiõ is roundish in shape, of a hard-
[262] ened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wɨhɨ̃ /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwí-re Wɨhĩõ, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wɨhĩõ of tucumã̃ nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Õnõ̃ñã̃ Wɨhĩõ (in Tarỹana Enúki).

There is a Wɨhĩõ in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wɨhĩõ, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wɨhĩõ-phɨ̃ (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of
• [582] pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate may not marry until after finishing the course.

/346 cont./

796
535
[829]
[115]

/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

[115]

55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b)), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1)).

[582]

Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

[276]

/367 cont./

824
*[192] In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ̃, for their own child, soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the barâ, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824
843
*[192]
[515] There is a plant called kã'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kã'ná pũnĩ), the leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

[797]

79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

• 582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797]

80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

[178]

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the
843 fetus becomes animated and develops.

The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII -
• 582 1, a (1)). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96),

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

/387 cont./

628 831 648 At times there are individuals of different tribes participating in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

[574]

592 582 836 797 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

592
582 /387 cont./

/footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/)

797
836

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacuris, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxiri, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/407 cont./

592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

593 428 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

593 583 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a) Marriage.

581 We have already pointed out that among all these tribes marriage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation of the group. It is the group that is primarily interested in its
• 582 realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

/408 cont./

• 582 are not observed, their wishes are not consulted, and their age is not a matter of concern (1).

[797]

1. Not infrequently the Missionaries have to intervene, even among Christians, in order that the marriage of children who have not yet reached nubile age, according to Brazilian and canonical legislation, will not be performed.

Virginity is not required, since, as we shall say, it can not legally exist; and there are no other conditions, except the agreement of the parents of the ones marrying, once the laws of the tribe, which we shall present in the following, have been observed.

1) The laws of marriage.

[192] a) The first and inviolable law that is observed in native marriage on the Uaupés is that of tribal exogamy, Axpé maxsã nõ'mõtise.

We noted (IV -- 2, a (2)) that there are subdivisions in the tribes. However, at least in the present regime, there are no subdivisions for matrimonial purposes (2).

2. As far as the tradition goes, it can be affirmed that tribal exogamy has always been in force. And, according to the legends, it seems that it can be advanced that the obligation of exogamy goes back to the origin of the tribes, or at least to the establishment of these nations in their present habitat.

Those of one tribe must obligatorily look for wives in another tribe. We are not facing, for now, the question as to whether this law has been imposed as a political measure, in order to avoid wars and murders between the tribes. We know, indeed, that, in spite of the exchange of women between two tribes, the contentions between them are frequent.

T
M /408 cont./
• 582 There are, as we have seen (IV -- 2), three groups of tribes,
[101] which we call Tukano /Tucano/, Arwake /Arawak/, and Makú /Macu/. The serious obligation is that of exogamy. Once the interdictions that we listed in the Classification of the tribes are observed, however, the woman may be from another tribe of the same group or from another group of tribes. Out of a question of pride, no tribe will marry a Makú, who is considered slave and inferior; /409/ he is not "people," they say (3).

> 3. We know of a few cases of marriage by men of other tribes (Tukano, Tuyuka, Desana, Ipeka) with a Makú woman. None of a Makú man with a woman from another tribe. Among these few cases, that of a young woman, although already orphaned in 1947, a resident of the Tuyuka maloca of the locality of S. Pedro, river Tiquié, whose father was Tukano and the mother, Makú. We were not able to verify whether her mother was a legitimate wife or simply a concubine; or, further, whether she had been born from a casual relationship. We do not know either, under the first hypothesis, for what reasons such a marriage had taken place. Perhaps a lack of women? Or due to a physical defect of the man (it is to be noted that the girl was cross-eyed)? Or because of living among the Makú of the Gí-paraná or Komé-ya (trib. of the Pirá-paraná)?

T
M If they nevertheless manage to catch some young Makú girl, they
851 might have her as a concubine, along with the legitimate wife.
563 They will avoid, however, having children with the Makú; and if, in spite of this, they do have them (for example, the grandmother of Maria Gama from Urubucuara), they are considered

T
M /409 con-/
851 legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).
563

4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Makú, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

T
101 Marriages between Taryana and Desāna do not take place. We
• 582 do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because
563 of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most noble group, marry Desāna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desāna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

T
582 Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano
563 explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the
614 Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĺ,
[601] Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor, finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĺ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

T
582 b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of
614 one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.
T
*[192] It is what is called Põãperi or põãpeserí. And the young woman
[601] will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nỹãkhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrá-ko nỹãkho (future genitress).

/409 cont./

000 Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

/410/ The ambilian marriage is not known, that is, it is not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws; but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

591 614

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

582 614

1st. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only establish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see later, they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2)) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/, Baxsú-kãra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

[611] [601]

Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkãra, are all the Tuyuka of the younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly, all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamí or Axkabí, see VIII -- 1, c).

[601]

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkãra who will be the Mĩ-ra-põ nỹákhõ or the Nõ'mõ nỹakho.

/410 cont./

582
601

Those who belong to the generation of the parents of the Baxsúkãra (that is, all those who are considered "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ of the mother herself) are called "uncles," Mẽx-kã̄ (if a man) (5),

5. Notice that the niece must be called Mẽx-kã̄-sa.

or Mã̄-gȭ (if a woman).

All the Baxsúkãra, in direct discourse, that is, talking among themselves (see Kinship Nomenclature below), are called "cousin," Méȭ-kȭ (child of the aunt, contraction of Waméȭ max-kȭ), and the female cousin, Méȭ-kȭ. It is to be pointed out that the girl may not take the liberty of saying abbreviately Méȭ-kȭ, Méȭ-kȭ; she will always say Waméȭ max-kȭ, Waméȭ max-kȭ, in full.

After an individual has been married, all the cousins or Baxsúkãra (6)

6. It is to be remembered that within the tribe the individuals who belong to the same generation are called "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/.

naturally become his cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/, and he actually /411/ calls them this when he expresses himself in Portuguese. When he expresses himself in Tukano, he prefers to continue to call them Méȭ-kȭ or Méȭ-kȭ; and the brothers-in-law in the strictest sense, that is, the blood brothers of his own wife, he will call Pẽ̄-ñã̄ (7).

7. The woman will use the term Nihĩ-so pax-kȭ to the brothers-in-law older than her husband, and Buhĩ́-bakȭ to those younger than he.

/411 cont./

582 601 As an exception, the individual, instead of marrying a girl from the generation of the Baxsúkãra, perhaps will marry someone from the class of the "uncles" /Port. tios, uncles, uncles and aunts/, Mẽx-kã-sa or Mã-gõ. It is the components of this class who are now his brothers-in-law, Pẽ-nã. In Tukano he may continue to call them "uncle," Mẽx-kã, or (if it is a matter of the niece) Mẽx-kã-sa, and in direct discourse he will use the name Pirĩ for the brothers-in-law in the strict sense.

584 2nd. -- A second one is that the negotiations and agreements are realized between the parents, without the ones to be married interfering or being consulted (8).

[797] 8. It has happened that the father has brought a wife for his son who is a student in the Mission school, forcing him to leave the school bench in order to marry.

It is highly reprehensible that, while the children enjoy enough freedom in the native family (it can be affirmed that those of the male sex enjoy absolute independence from the parents), on this subject, so serious because the marriage is indissoluble, they do not have any freedom at all (9)

9. "Slave marriage" was the expression of one Missionary, citing examples of the absolutism of the parental will against the manifest wishes of the young people.

and show the greatest docility toward the wishes of their parents.

581 [584] Neither marriage for love nor the practice of courtship is known among them. It even seems that they are indifferent to physical beauty; it is certain that in all human groups there are individuals who are more or less sympathetic. No doubt these personal reasons might have an influence in premarital and

584 /412 cont./
will be promised in marriage to another family. In practice, they
584 will be bride and bridegroom, with the right to relations between
836 them (with precautions, however, in order not to have children), perhaps for many years and with a great difference in age between the ones being married. And the child, once it has barely reached the age of reason, knows that it must marry such a person.

584 4th. A fourth one is that a widowed father will give up a
587 daughter in order to arrange for a second wife for himself, although with a great disproportion between their ages, before he procures one for his son.

587 5th. A fifth one is that a woman, becoming a widow, can pass to her brother-in-law as a wife, if he is a widower or a bachelor and without a bride, from which his father has an obligation to give a woman to such a family, in exchange for the other one whom he obtained from there. Although the law of the levirate (12)

12. That is, the duty of an individual to marry the sister-in-law who was widowed without children, in order to resuscitate the lineage of his late brother, a custom that was in force among the Jews.

does not exist among our Indians, we thus have its practice.

• 582 6th. A sixth one is that, from this exchange of women of a
611 tribe A with those of tribe B, since the children are regarded as belonging to the father's tribe, cousins can marry each other. For example, of two pairs of brothers and sisters, M and N from tribe A and P and Q from tribe B, the woman M married P, whose sister Q was joined in matrimony to N. The children of these two couples are, obviously, "cousins-german" or "cousins in the first degree." Nevertheless the children of P belong to the tribe B, and those of N, to the tribe A. They consider themselves reciprocally Baxsúkãra, and they may marry each other.

/412 cont./

582 In conclusion, the preferential marriage of these tribes is between cousins in the first degree.

583 [192] c) The lack of women might render the exchange, or Põãperi, impossible. As might also an excess of women over the number of male children. The acquisition of a wife will then be done with the donation of some material goods; this is what is called Nõ'mõ duusé (purchase of the wife).

/413/ It seems to us, however, that this is not a matter of a true purchase of the spouse, in spite of the term Duusé, which was given to us by a Tukano interpreter. One tribe was enriched by one family, while the other one lost an element: compensation is just. With the absence of the maiden daughter, the father, and above all the mother, has lost an element of value through her work for the domestic economy; there will be economic indemnification on the part of the future son-in-law.

There are two reasons for such a deduction. The first one is that even when there is Põãperi, or exchange of women, the young man will give some gift to the future father-in-law. The second reason is that there does not exist, as in other human groups, a fixed price of indemnification; or a table of prices according to the category of women. The young man will give according to his means and the wishes of the father-in-law. Always utilitarian objects: ornaments, canoe, machete, trousers, ax, tobacco, salt, etc. (13).

582

13. Wallace presents a detail for which we do not find any confirmation or reminiscence on the Uaupés. "In some tribes," he says, "such as that of the Uacarás, the young man must submit to a test, which consists of a demonstration of his ability to shoot the bow and arrow. If the young man does not hit the target, the girl refuses him, because he thus proves to be incapable of shooting fish or of hunting for the sustenance of the family." We have

/413 cont./

582 /footnote 13 cont./ already said (II-6, b) that we were unable to locate any tribe under the name of Wakará, in order to investigate their customs. However, the affirmation by Wallace (who did not visit the Wakará either) is in absolute opposition to the Uaupesino customs. Actually marriage is a business between the two fathers, not between the ones getting married. In any case the diet does not depend on handling the bow well. Among the tribes of the Uaupés, on the contrary, hunting is light, and fish are more rarely caught with arrows. The basis of the diet is mandioca, and the one who supplies it is the woman, and not the husband. It can be affirmed that among these tribes it is the woman, and not the husband, who supports the family.

584 It is in these cases that one notes the greater freedom of the boy who is looking for a wife, and frequently the initiative in choosing the young woman and in the dealings with her father is his. At times the parents and brothers help him in obtaining the gifts that the father-in-law demands, but with the right to be indemnified later (one more proof of the instinct of ownership).

In general the girl's father will enter into an agreement. He always fears that the young man will take revenge with some malefice. And the youth will certainly do so; or at least he will spread it abroad that the girl has the dohasé (malefice) of sterility, and nobody will seek her as a wife. It is a dreadful revenge, because this cuts short the young woman's future and also sacrifices the economic interests of the father.

602 /446/
619 True kinship, therefore, exists only between the individuals of the same tribe, and with all of them.

2) Affinity.

• 582 Although strict tribal exogamy is in force, marriage establishes between the children and the relatives of both their father and their mother relations of affinity, similar to those of kinship (not, however, the obligations of vengeance and of matrimonial interdiction) and with a special nomenclature, although not as rich in terms as that of kinship.

582 Since "preferential marriage" is in force (usually with the
601 first cousins of another tribe), that is, with the first cousins on
602 the mother's side, or baxsú-kãra (Masc. sing. baxsukõ, Fem. sing. baxsuko), they admit the relation of affinity of the baxsukãra among themselves, as well as between the parents and the class of the "possible spouses" of the children. There are appropriate terms for these "possible spouses," "possible parents-in-law," and "possible children-in-law."

601 There might perhaps not even exist a term to express the
602 relation of affinity; then they use a term for the relation of kinship. For example, the native idioms of the Uaupés do not have terms corresponding to stepfather, stepmother, stepson, stepdaughter. In indirect discourse they describe the relation that exists, that is, one is called: "husband of my mother" (stepfather), "wife of my father" (stepmother), "son or daughter of my husband, or of my wife" (stepson, stepdaughter). And in direct discourse one is called by the name of the relation (uncle, grandfather, etc.), and they will call the stepchildren "children."

601 There are indeed terms, although also classificatory, that is, applicable to a whole class of individuals, corresponding to son-in-law and brother-in-law, but used almost solely for indirect discourse. For direct discourse they prefer the terms of social kinship; of these terms we shall indicate only the most common

/447 cont./

601 their own father) and are called by them "mẽ-kõ," nephew. And those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kõ-ro," and are called by them "paramĩ," grandchildren, or max-kõ-kõ, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamĩ (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabĩ ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamĩ and axkabĩ are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamĩ; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabĩ. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamĩ or axkabĩ of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: [126] [162] 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyó of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyó of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamĩ of D and E and axkabĩ of A and B.

Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

[582] [611]

90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukõ, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sibling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Because of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awkward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only community exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib exogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

621
614
582
571

the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361
614
554

The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals are hunted along the river banks.

[823]
[146]
[224]

361
823

The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahúkiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

[103]

361
614
615

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges.

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehénewa* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiarí.

PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations.

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO
MACU SQ10

same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabewũ* on the Querarí.

Yániwa A sib at the mouth of the Querarí. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querarí as *Dyaniwa*.

Yokóbũbewũ A sib on the lower Querarí.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

Batówa Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapé*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querarí. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

Ihkádowa A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiarí, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiarí, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *parană* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí.

Kówa A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg en[illegible] on the upper Aiarí. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoeira*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querarí and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiarí near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

THE *BORÓWA*

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

58
593

hand, the assigned sister can be counted on to act in her brother's behalf and to accept the exchange marriage. On the other, if his bride should leave him he believes that he can ask his sister to leave her husband so that accounts will be squared. This arrangement does not work perfectly, but it works well.

593
622

Not every young man has a sister assigned to him. The son of a headman who is in line for the succession has preference, as has a favored son, since it is the parents who play an important part in establishing this relationship. In the case of an apparent heir to the headmanship the assigned sister enhances his status in two ways. It makes him part of an adult status economic relationship in that he has a woman "working" for him and it smoothes the way for his marriage.

[182]
[885]

593

I could get no term for this rather specialized brother-sister relationship. Ordinary relationships between brother and sister lack the specific economic exchange features. Lacking the intensity of the paired relationship, the ordinary relationship is still charged with considerable emotion.

593
614
182
582

From the point of view of the sib, the brother-sister relationship may be considered as a source of holding women to the sib even after they have taken up residence in another sib. There is the curious expectation that a woman will some day come back to her own sib. She will do this as a widow or after a break in her marriage. When a young man is on his way to his "affinal" sib to bring back a wife his parents say to him, half in jest, "Try to make your sister come home." The symbolic act of marriage for the Cubeo is the drama of a "marriage by capture." The groom seizes the bride, who protests, and carries her forcibly to the beach and into his canoe. Her outcries bring her kinsmen on the run, who then try to prevent her "abduction" by cudgeling the groom. This dramatic enactment makes the point that the bride is unwilling to leave her sib and that her kin are determined not to let her go. It is a strong demonstration of attachment that soothes the feelings of the sib and particularly of the brother. It satisfies the sentiment that no one wishes to leave the sib.

593
614

The relationship between brother and sister may also be considered in the context of the sib origin myth which states that the founders of a sib were always a brother-sister pair who only later entered into exchange marriages. The tradition of the *Bahúkiwa* sib that a woman re-established the sib after all her brothers had been killed by enemies illustrates still again the Cubeo sentiment that a woman really belongs to her sib. Thus a sib has a female ancestress as well as a male ancestor.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *pani*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *pani*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *pani* – an in-law – but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

604
614
[601] a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if [615] they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in [582] effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kü*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to
601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective
614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals
615 (*panaihinkü*, *-ko* and *hipanimekü*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkü* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekü* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-
601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the
[593] Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister
[584] negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a con-
[614] tribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himäkü-makü* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred
[614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children
[615] consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiarí then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

5

Marriage

614 615 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course, from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood [626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence 614 597 marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*, was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwá*, a sib of the opposite phratry. He then married a *Hürüwá* girl. Opinion was divided. The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised by the *Hürüwá* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwá* girl. Since the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume ● 582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so 192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomíkükü*, meaning simply "woman getting."

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

marriage. These suspicions are not overcome even though they may already have affinal kin in the other tribe.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, I was witness to some of the events of the full cycle of an exchange marriage involving the neighboring Tucanoan-speaking *Tatúyo*. The opening wedge for this marriage was made by a *Bahúkiwa* woman who had married a *Tatúyo*. One day she reappeared among the *Bahũkiwa* with her husband and young children and settled down for a long wait. She was given a manioc garden and her husband devoted himself to making household implements for the wife of the headman. The headman had two marriageable daughters and two marriageable sons, to each of whom had been assigned, in the traditional manner, a sister whom he would exchange for a bride. One of the daughters, the elder, was very attractive, vivacious, flirtatious, and ardently desired by many young men. She had been married and divorced several times and was accused of having aborted, or killed at birth, several of her offspring. Because she was headstrong and not very industrious, sober-minded folk regarded her as a poor choice for a bride. Nevertheless, she was assigned to the older son, a very capable young man who showed every promise of becoming a headman. By seniority his was to be the prior marriage. Among the Cubeo the problem is to have the sons marry in proper age sequence and not the daughters. The *Bahúkiwa* visitor stated her opinion that such a girl needed a *Tatúyo* as a husband. "A *Tatúyo* could tame her," she said. The *Tatúyo* indeed had a reputation for ferocity because at the time they were still at war with the whites. By contrast with the Cubeo, those I saw were sullen and certainly appeared to be far more aggressive. She added that the *Tatúyo* also had many fine young girls, girls who had not been spoiled by contact with whites. The headman had no sooner grasped the possibilities of such a marriage for his undisciplined older daughter than a party of *Tatúyo* appeared to visit their fellow *Tatúyo*, who, they remarked jokingly, had lived away for so long that they now thought of him as a *Bahúkiwa*. It was a "large" party of eight men of warrior age. They came in two canoes. They were quartered among the various households and they stayed for several weeks, showing great skill in hunting, fishing, and in making implements. No one spoke marriage; but the signs were soon evident in the flirtatiousness of the daughters of the headman and two of the *Tatúyo* youths. When the *Tatúyo* announced that they were now ready to go home, a drinking party was quickly arranged as a farewell. When the *Tatúyo* party had left, it was discovered that the younger daughter was missing and that the older sister, whose "elopement" was taken

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities, the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

---

000 *Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.*

 [see p.62-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

ARTHUR P. SORENSEN, JR.
State University of New York at Binghamton

In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.

THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

Setting and Culture Area

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

[P. 670-A]

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse
594 group, which is also the basic unit of economic redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each married woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

[P. 671 - B]

61
• 582

to more than one phratry are well known and are taken for granted as minor exceptions to the stated rule. This rule is expressed in a formula that one does not marry inside of one's own tribe-and-language group because one would then be marrying a brother or a sister. Although informants do not explicitly refer to it, they recognize exogamy at the phratry level, and all marriages conform to a rule of phratry exogamy as well as of tribal exogamy. Recognition of the multitribal composition of the phratry is expressed as: "A Tukano will not marry a Baré because the Baré are brothers and sisters with the Tukanos."

The exogamic phratry system is extended fictitiously to all tribes peripheral to and beyond the central Northwest Amazon area, even though members of these tribes may not themselves be aware that they fit into such a system. Despite this fiction, it is safe to assume that any marriage with a member of one of these tribes will be phratry-exogamous. The nonriverine, marginal Makú of the interior lands back from the Papurí River, with whom the riverine Indians described in this paper do not intermarry, are considered to belong to the phratries to which the Tukano belong (the "Tukano-Makú") and to which the Desano belong (the "Desano-Makú"), and are said to intermarry among themselves accordingly.[3]

621
797

A larger mission village is a unit that has been created by missionaries from two or more longhouse groups representing two or more tribes (hence linguistic groups) that have been required to tear down their longhouses, move together, and build separate adobe huts for each nuclear family. A larger mission village also contains a contingent of non-Indian missionaries and a boarding house of school children from nearby settlements. A smaller mission village is a single longhouse group that has been persuaded to tear down its longhouse and substitute a series of adobe huts, one for each nuclear family.

621
466
648

The rubber-working group, for the Indian, is a unit of eight to ten months' duration per year, to which he belongs over a period of several years, usually in his youth. There are a great many such groups in the Upper Vaupés-Apaporis rubber-gathering area, each operating out of a camp, to which the Indians of the Middle Vaupés region are recruited. Properly speaking, the group includes one or more non-

[P.672-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

829 Although the Indians reckon, for reference, in terms of ethnic groups, their attitude toward non-Indians is roughly the same as that of Americans in the United States toward European immigrants, who are looked upon as potentially becoming more and more American. I observed that Indians behold the visitor as potentially becoming more and more Indian-like unless he actively rejects Indian food, customs, and so forth. Most non-Indians are unaware of this attitude, and many would be contemptuous of it if they did know of it.

With respect to the Dutch, Germans, etc., an identifying criterion important to the Indian is that each of these ethnic groups is a separate language-bearing group. I was surprised that Indians do not naïvely assume that the English-speaking "American" necessarily belongs to the English ethnic group; the occasional North American traveler who insists (in Spanish) that he is "American" by *tribe* as well as by nationality is simply not believed. The North American who can be more explicit about his ethnic background is appreciated, especially if the background includes languages other than English and more than one ethnic group (thus simulating in form the exogamic language-bearing groups among the Colombian or Brazilian Indians). The Indians have also noted the widespread and, to them, notorious endogamy of the non-Indians and figure that there must be some sort of sib exogamy. The Indians ask a great deal about non-Indian marriage customs--partly because missionaries at times have suggested that the Indians' exogamy system is cumbersome and uncivilized, and that it promotes close cousin marriage, whereas the Indians feel that it is the non-Indian, with his lack of a clearly definable exogamy system, who is indiscriminate.

• [582] [797]

As for nationality-and-language, the Indians know that Spanish is the language of non-Indians on the Colombian side of the border and that Portuguese is the corresponding language on the Brazilian side of the border. They also know that Spanish is the language of Venezuela and that English is the language of "America." Nationality has no bearing on exogamy.

The Tribal Unit

619 In the central Northwest Amazon the term "tribe" has been used both for individual language-bearing units and for composites of these units sharing the same culture. In general

[P. 673-A]

191

area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

MULTILINGUALISM

[611] Because descent is patrilineal in the Northwest Amazon and residence is normatively and
[582] predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his
[591] own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] In addition to these multilingual contacts
[583] in the longhouse, others occur as a result of considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential mar-
[582] riage system. There is a preference, though not an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin,
[593] particularly his mother's brother's daughter, real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [3] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921–22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 [4] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and
563 Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely
61 that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and
• 582 adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Cabocles are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of cabocles. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "*cabuco*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be cabocles.

000 [5] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 [6] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded inter-
191 views taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tiké. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of the activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally removed politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 [7] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of
101 demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated
197 from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adopt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683 - B]